PRESIDENT

MOHAMED HOSNI MUBARAK OF EGYPT

PAMPHLET
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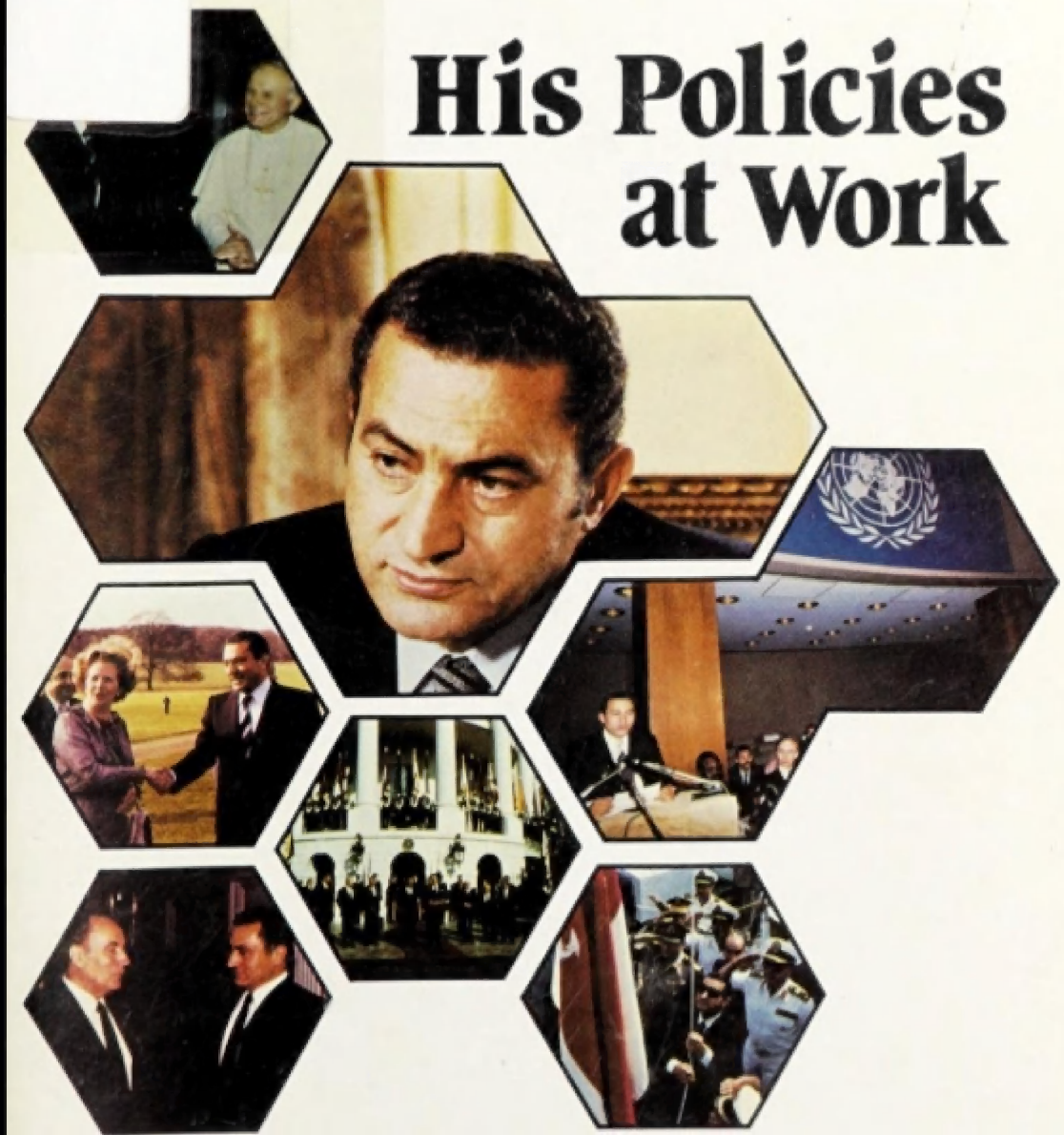
His Policies at Work



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PRESIDENT

MOHAMED HOSNI MUBARAK

OF EGYPT

His Policies at Work

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"Whoever does not command the means to feed himself can neither feel freedom nor dignity"

Part of an address delivered at the Rome meeting of the International Fund for Agricultural Development. December 13, 1982.

Introduction

When Vice-President Hosni Mubarak was elected to succeed President Anwar El Sadat on October 13, 1981, the fate of Egypt, and that of peace in the Middle East, seemed to depend on the ability of the new leader to bring about a smooth transition of power and achieve a national reconciliation.

The challenge was a formidable one, but so was the record of the man on whom it so suddenly devolved to take over the leadership of Egypt.

At the time of his nomination for the Presidency, Hosni Mubarak had been in constant action in the service of his country for over 30 years. He had proved himself as a man of action on the battlefields of Sinai in 1967 and again in 1973, as the organiser and the builder of the new Air Force which played a decisive part in the victory of October 1973, and as Vice-President of the Republic since April 1975, undertaking many political and diplomatic assignments.

President Hosni Mubarak typifies the generation which he helped create and imbue with what has become known as "the spirit of October 1973". His natural propensity for in-depth analysis and objective reasoning was reinforced by his air force training and experience which taught him that the identification of objectives becomes useful only when the means of attaining them have been properly devised and assessed.

Sober reasoning rather than emotionalism, pragmatism rather than dogmatism, finding a practical way of upholding justice rather than compromising with principles, have been the hallmarks of his political career. And he has always taken the view that both his supporters and his opponents would be more susceptible to reason than to any other form of approach.

In October 1981, at a critical hour in his country's history, he devoted his inexhaustible energy to the urgent task of ensuring that the smooth transfer of power would be followed by internal security and stability within the framework of a democratic system which would make it possible for the nation as a whole to become involved in the solution of vital problems.

Next on his list of priorities was to ensure that the last inch of occupied territory would be recovered on schedule, that the peace process in the Middle East would be re-activised and that Egypt's standing in the world, including the Arab world, should rise higher than ever.

Third came the need to revive the economy and ensure full employment and higher living standards at a time of world recession and rampant inflation.

To attain these objectives involved not only the formulation of new policies and the modification of older ones, but also an active participation in their implementation, constantly maintaining a personal contact with the people on whose goodwill and hard work the success of his policies largely depended.

In a move intended to achieve national unity rather than the neutralisation of opponents, President Mubarak opened a dialogue with all responsible opposition groups with a view to achieving an agreement on the definition of national aims while encouraging debate and a diversity of views on the means and tactics most likely to bring about the attainment of agreed objectives.

The success of this approach may be gauged from the fact that virtually all the spokesmen of opposition groups publicly expressed their willingness to co-operate with the government in its efforts to ensure stability, law and order, economic development and the fulfilment of national aspirations, while reserving the right to differ on matters of policy.

President Mubarak has repeatedly invited debate and the free expression of opinion in the belief that all responsible views, sincerely and honestly held, deserve to be examined. The opposition, he said, had a role to play in the national effort by offering "considered views and honest criticism, but not slander and unfounded accusations".

In keeping with his faith in both participatory democracy and reasoned argumentation, President Mubarak has also called for a public debate on such topical problems as housing, rationalising consumption, ensuring that subsidised goods reach those for whom they are intended, eliminating luxury and extravagant public spending, and dealing with the shortage of skilled labour in some industries and public services.

On the economic front, President Mubarak has approached the country's problems with a sense of urgency and realism recognising not only the need to increase agricultural and industrial production and to maximise investments in all productive areas, but also the fact of the inter-dependence of nations in matters of economic development. He has stressed, therefore, that there would be no going back on the economic open-door policy because, in his estimation, it offers the optimum way of achieving overall economic and social development and of enabling the nation to reap the fruits of peace and stability. In drawing up a national economic strategy he has sought not only the views of Egypt's leading economists but also those of trade unions, mass organisations and all segments of the population to ensure that any solution which may be adopted is based on a national consensus. The results of his economic policy has been an 8.5 per cent

H.E. MOHAMED HOSNI MUBARAK, PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

increase of the national product, as recorded by the World Bank, during the first year of his administration, despite most unfavourable world conditions, and full employment — in fact a shortage of labour in some areas — despite one of the world's highest rates of population growth.

In foreign affairs, far from remaining inactive, President Mubarak has constantly fuelled the peace movements in the Middle East and has been instrumental in maintaining the momentum of the various peace initiatives. Relying once again on methodical reasoning rather than emotional outbursts, he has prevailed upon some of the parties concerned to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the peace initiatives before other developments begin to monopolise the world political scene. Time alone will show the impact of his efforts in this direction and the extent to which they will have proved successful.

Meanwhile, the recovery by Egypt of the whole of mainland Sinai has confounded the prophets of doom who had predicted a last minute hitch and has confirmed the validity of President Mubarak's strategy in his quest for peace and justice. Egypt's example and the positive results achieved by her longer-term policies may be said to have also influenced the thinking of the Palestinians and of Arab countries closely concerned with the solution of the Palestinian problem, as reflected in the decisions of the Fez conference. Indeed, observers noted that though Egypt did not participate in the conference, its decisions would have been unthinkable before she launched her Middle East peace offensive.

The following pages illustrate the views and policies of the man who now presides over the destiny of Egypt and who, as leader of a country which has been the bulwark of the Middle East since the most ancient times, must inevitably play a significant part in the future of the region. They reveal a man of reason who has already left a deep imprint on the 5,000-year old history of Egypt and whose thinking may yet be seen to have influenced the course of events well beyond his native land.

Foreign Policy

As defined by President Mubarak, Egypt's strategic interests are linked with those of the Arab, Islamic, African and Asian communities, but this does not preclude co-operation with European and American countries. This is reflected in her foreign policy, which, as determined by the free and independent will of the nation and expressed by its leader, aims at the preservation of peace, the strengthening of Arab unity and of the Non-Aligned Movement, and, above all, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people."

On Peace

"Peace is one of the most monumental positive aspects and we are proceeding along the road to it."

An Interview with *Al Akhbar* newspaper, January 24, 1982.

America's contribution

"The United States can make a great contribution to peace through promoting a meaningful and unconditional dialogue between Israel and all other parties willing to negotiate. No party should be excluded from this process."

"If the Israelis were able to mend their fences with the Egyptians, there is no reason why they should fail to do the same with the Palestinians. They lived together for centuries without a single incident or animosity. To revive this tradition, we have to find a formula that would enable both of them to live together as good friends and good neighbours instead of this current tension generated by military occupation. Hence, their co-operation and acceptance is crucial."

Address to the National Press Club, February 5, 1982.

PRESIDENT REAGAN WELCOMES PRESIDENT MUBARAK AT THE WHITE HOUSE DURING ONE OF HIS VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES

"Europe has a role in the Middle East where it carries weight and has also contacts with the USA and the Israelis. This would greatly assist the efforts to achieve an overall solution to the Middle East problem."

Press conference before leaving London, February 7, 1982.

PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK BEING RECEIVED AT CHEQUERS, THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, BY MRS. MARGARET THATCHER

"No initiative can be effective without co-ordination with the United States. In the event of a valid European initiative, Europe and the United States should co-operate in this regard."

Interview with Dutch journalists, July 5, 1982.

The peace challenge

"It is imperative for the PLO to recognise Israel even if the Israelis cannot recognise the Palestinians. I do not think they (the Palestinians) will lose anything by doing so. It is a measure that will enable the United States to start a dialogue with them. It is not advisable for the PLO to reject all initiatives like Israel does. That is exactly what Israel wants."

Press conference in Cairo with President Mitterand, November 25, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK WITH FRENCH PRESIDENT MITTERAND

Seven principles for peace

There are seven main principles for sparing the Middle East from the destruction and perils threatening it. These are, the complete Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, stopping all forms of interference in Lebanon's affairs, respect of Lebanon's sovereignty and strengthening the country's legal authority, proceeding with a just settlement of the Palestinian problem, stopping the circulation of ideas about a substitute entity because Palestinian identity cannot find expression except on Palestinian soil, firmly demanding that Israel stop all settlement activities and that preparations be made for the resumption of peace negotiations."

Address at a banquet given in honour of President Mitterand, December 1982.

The role of public opinion

"European public opinion is of great value in attaining a total settlement in the Middle East and without Europe's support, President Reagan's peace initiative would be weakened."

Interview with French Television, November 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WITH CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL

A formula for coexistence

In welcoming the active European role which was crystallised in the Venice Declaration and which supported the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination President Mubarak said:

"We are called upon to find common ground between the Fez Resolutions and President Reagan's initiative which we consider as an acceptable formula for the start of expanded negotiations with the participation of Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people who must participate directly in the building of peace and in finding a formula for coexistence in the area."

Address at a luncheon in his honour at Bonn, December 1982.

THE MAN OF REASON SPEAKS FROM THE HEART

Egypt has a proud peace

"No one appreciates peace more than those who fought battles and took up arms defending the principles of right and justice. This last quarter of a century, since the 1956 victory at Port Said, has witnessed a significant transformation that will remain as a banner throughout the next decade. The world recognises that, after achieving victory in the October 1973 War, Egypt chose the course of peace. Hence, our choice of peace was that of the strong. We did not choose peace out of weakness or vulnerability.

"We chose this to be a proud peace, one which will achieve for us, for our Arab brothers and for all states and peoples of the area, what the wars of the last 25 years failed to achieve: stability and coexistence. It is a peace that all parties will adopt, out of conviction and sincerity, as a way of life and behaviour; a peace that is built on the sincere adherence to international law and human rights. This is the peace which we strive to achieve as we continue on this strenuous path we are determined to follow."

Address on the occasion of the Port Said Victory Day, December 23, 1981.

"The Americans should offer a dialogue with the Palestinians. Without that it would be difficult to carry on the whole process."

Press Conference following a meeting in Vienna with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, February 8, 1982.

We will do our utmost to bring peace to the Middle East

PRESIDENT MUBARAK WITH CHANCELLOR BRUNO KREISKY OF AUSTRIA

"We shall pursue the search for peace and we are exerting the utmost efforts with Israel and the USA. We do not monopolise efforts for the solution of the Palestinian problem. Anyone who has a solution to the problem is invited to present it. We do not speak in the name of Palestinians. However we contribute our utmost to help them reach a point from which they could proceed on the road to a solution. They are entitled to deal with and decide on the issue themselves. And if they ask for our help, we shall not fail to offer it to them."

Interview with *Al-Ahram* newspaper, October 23, 1981.

WITH PRESIDENT SANDRO PERTINI OF ITALY...

With peace, development is a top priority

"It is inadmissible for the world to spend 650 billion dollars annually on armaments, whereas it is unable to meet the basic needs of millions throughout the world. Moreover, we deplore the fact that aid given to developing by developed countries amounts barely to one per cent of the value of their production, in terms of commodities."

Address to the Conference of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, December 13, 1982.

"The peace process arises from a decision we have taken and implemented. Our people now wish to devote themselves to development."

Interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyassa*, March 14, 1982.

"I hope we can reach a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East so that we might live in peace. We could then concentrate on developing our economy and work to co-operate with all friendly countries in the Middle East."

Interview with NBC TV network, January 12, 1983.

The miracle of peace

"The historic peace initiative belongs to forty-two million Egyptians, though it is no longer considered the possession of the Egyptian people only, but rather that of all the peoples of the world."

"The people of Egypt who have witnessed the miracle of peace, achieved by the champion of peace, believe more than ever in proceeding along the road to peace, and are more determined to protect all its fruits."

Speech before the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, October 14, 1981.

"We had 30 years of blood, hatred, war and all sorts of hardships. We have used up our own resources. Now we should do our best for peace to prevail among our peoples."

An Interview with NBC TV Networks. Published by the *New York Times*. February 1, 1982.

...AND WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II

"With good intentions and good understanding, war would be kept at bay in the region."

Statement to journalists following a meeting with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, April 25, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE OF GUINEA EMBRACE THE NEW GENERATION, AT CAIRO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

Expansionist policies can only dim the hopes for a better future

"Events have vindicated Egypt's unerring vision of the essence of the Middle East conflict, and emphasised the need to strive for a settlement of the Palestinian question in its entirety, as it constitutes the key to peace, stability and coexistence in the region. Expansionist policies, invasion and concepts of supremacy or domination, will only lead to more bitterness, more violence and more destruction, further estrangement and antagonism; and will adversely affect the spirit of peace and will dim the hopes for a better future.

"Egypt calls for an immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon as well as respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and the will of its people who are perfectly capable of handling their own affairs and shouldering their responsibility, having long suffered from foreign interference, covetousness, and intrigues.

"We call upon Israel to ponder over the future, instead of remaining a prisoner of the past with its attendant miseries and tragedies. It should define its role in the region on the basis of a genuine and comprehensive peace with the Arabs — a very different concept from that of armed truce and renewable conflicts. It should be a clear-cut option for peace, an unshakable and firm option, with no distinctions between people, because peace is an indivisible whole."

Address delivered at a banquet during President Sekou Toure's visit to Egypt, October 18, 1982.

The Taba border issue

"Peace to us represents a basic strategic target which we uphold and never relinquish because it is the road that leads to the future and the guarantee of security and stability in the region.

"We are striving to arrive at a speedy and just solution to the dispute raised by Israel over the frontier in the region of Taba. We only claim right and justice, and we have no interest in territorial expansion, but at the same time, we shall not relinquish a single inch of our sacred soil. This issue is not negotiable because the territorial integrity of a country is a responsibility handed by one generation to another and it is not the October generation that shall relinquish either land or right. The October generation shall safeguard the territorial integrity of Egypt and its safety. This country is blessed by God, because it is mentioned in His Holy Book, the Quran. Hence, we insist on recovering our land and exercising sovereignty over this area which lies within our territorial limits in accordance with the second article of the peace treaty."

Address on the occasion of the total Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, April 26, 1982.

"The Taba problem is a border issue between Egypt and Israel... Egypt persists in its right and will not cede any part of its territory and insists on the April 1982 Agreement between the two countries on Taba."

Addressing the Feminist leaders of the National Democratic Party, January 4, 1983.

"We are liberating our land and realising peace for ourselves and others. Peace is a serious matter and not a game. It is a way of life, in fact, the artery of life itself."

"We opt for peace in order to prevent the continued wastage of funds used for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Such funds could now be spent for the welfare and prosperity of the Egyptian people, who have long suffered from the horrors of war, both psychological and material."

An Interview with the *October Magazine*. November 1, 1981.

"Chances are most favourable now to trigger off a fresh dynamic drive for peace in the Middle East... Israel's immediate withdrawal from Lebanon is essential since genuine peace should reflect the true desires of the peoples and, as such, cannot be realised under conditions of domination and military occupation.

"The framework for peace in the Middle East has recently been enhanced due to the many peace-orientated initiatives such as the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution at the United Nations, the Reagan initiative and the Fez Declaration. The chances for peace now are so favourable that we should not let them pass by, particularly as the history of our region is replete with lost opportunities."

A toast speech at a banquet given in President Mubarak's honour by the Indian President, Zail Singh.

"Egypt is an Arab country. Yet, we have signed the peace treaty with the Israelis and we respect our word, and our country and our people are looking forward to peace, lasting peace — we respect that. We are doing our utmost to achieve lasting peace. They (the Israelis) invaded Lebanon and Lebanon is an Arab country — could we sit with arms folded? We did the least we should do and recalled our Ambassador... but I declared that (the Egyptian Ambassador to Israel) will return when they (the Israelis) agree on a plan for their complete withdrawal from Lebanon and they start executing this plan... Returning our Ambassador will be the first step, but it is not the solution to the whole problem of the deterioration of relations between Egypt and Israel."

Interview with NBC TV network, January 12, 1983.

On Non-Alignment

"The Non-Aligned Movement should draw up a special system to ensure the security of its member states. This movement can establish an energetic role in world affairs if it can contribute to talks now under way to reduce the levels of armament and if it can help reduce tensions between rival blocs."

A toast speech at a banquet given in President Mubarak's honour by the Indian President, Zail Singh.

VISIT TO INDIA IN DECEMBER 1982. EGYPT AND INDIA ARE AMONG THE FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

"We adhere to the policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality. We call for the strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement and the clearing of impurities introduced into it in recent years which have disrupted its balance. Such impurities shook many of the basic concepts on which its philosophy and course had been set and made it lose much of its effectiveness and influence on the international level.

"We regret such a development and shall strive to put an end to it. We believe that the interests of peoples seeking freedom, security and justice are best served by the course of non-alignment."

"In formulating our relations with the big powers, we are keen to deal with them in accordance with the good intentions shown by each and their readiness for true co-operation without interfering in our internal affairs or transgressing on our sovereignty or our free-will. Egypt is an Arab, African country, neither eastern nor western. Egypt shall not revolve in the orbit of any other power, nor be part of the strategy of any party."

Policy statement to a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. November 8, 1981.

"Egypt's rejection of polarisation and her faith that the circles with which her strategic interests are linked are the Arab, Islamic, African and Asian circles; does not preclude co-operation with European and American countries in all fields."

Address to an extraordinary session of the National Democratic Party after his election as Chairman of the Party, January 26, 1982.

"Egypt is an Arab African country. Egypt is not inclined towards the east or the west."

Policy statement to a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. November 8, 1981.

"Egypt maintains good relations with all powers which treat us as an equal and respect our independence. Egypt is non-aligned and has neither Soviet nor American bases.

"The United States is a friend which is helping us. If the Soviet Union was ready to help us in any problem on an equal basis we would have no objection... but we will not agree to interference in our internal affairs or to anyone dealing with us from a superpower standpoint because we are a small country."

Address to an extraordinary session of the National Democratic Party, January 26, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK WITH CHINESE PREMIER ZHAO ZIYANG IN CAIRO

"Egypt builds bridges of co-operation; it resists aggression and supports struggling peoples who aspire to freedom and equality.

"Egypt maintains dealings with all without complexes or sensitivities."

Policy statement to a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. November 8, 1981.

The Reagan peace plan

"A most welcome and positive development occurred recently, when President Reagan renewed the commitment of his country to a settlement of the Palestinian question, in its capacity as full partner in the peace process. This development arose from the conviction of the United States that security and peace will not be achieved through the annexation of lands and control over peoples' destinies. This American stand is a positive, constructive factor, and is instrumental in the attainment of peace. We hope that further

PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND PRESIDENT STAMBOLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA — SUCCESSORS TO THE FOUNDERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

measures will be taken to bring us closer to a comprehensive and just solution, namely the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a national entity on their land."

Address delivered during a visit to Yugoslavia, September 6, 1982.

"There are positive as well as negative aspects in President Reagan's initiative and we did not expect it to be entirely positive. But, we must encourage the American side to remain a participant in the negotiations. Solution may be found to the negative aspects, and it would be wrong to reject the initiative forthwith. We might not feel our mistake at present, but we shall do so in the future."

Press Conference given in Belgrade, September 8, 1982.

"Although we have some observation on, and objections to this American initiative, this in no way affects the possibility of it generating a new momentum to the peace process and attracting new participants in the negotiations, such as Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian people."

Address delivered at the final session of the General Congress of the NDP, September 22, 1982.

On Relations with the Arab World

"We have no problem with the Arab countries. They are the ones who severed relations. The Palestinian cause is and will always be an essential issue. We made many sacrifices and still do for the sake of the Palestinian issue. We shall not abandon it as they claim. In any case, I believe that not all the Arab countries rejected our policy. We have to wait and see; hoping that all our Arab brothers will reassess their position."

Interview with *Al-Ahram* newspaper, October 23, 1981.

"We share fundamental ties with the Arab Gulf States which cannot be affected by political fluctuations. We consider the security and stability of these States as an integral part of our own strategic security. Hence, any threat levelled at their security will pose a dangerous situation which Egypt will view with great concern."

Address to a joint meeting of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, April 26, 1982.

"We welcome any effort exerted to solve the Palestinian question, and we shall never allow Egypt to have the monopoly of seeking a solution."

Press Conference given in Belgrade, September 8, 1982.

"We help Iraq to the best of our abilities, so that it can defend itself against the Iranian invasion of its lands. We call upon the two countries to let reason and logic prevail and seek a solution to their conflict."

Joint press conference with West German Foreign Minister, July 15, 1982.

"The Arab people of Egypt feel deeply for their Lebanese brothers in their ordeal, and strongly support their right to a secure and free life, as other peoples and nations."

Address delivered at the 30th Anniversary of the July 1952 Revolution, July 26, 1982.

"As regards Arab relations, we have always been in contact with the Palestine Liberation Organisation before and after the Lebanon events and are still in contact to this very day. This is clearly reflected in television, in the press and in all mass-media. We are committed to the Palestinian cause; it is a duty that Egypt has shouldered from the outset and shall never relinquish. Therefore, we have constant contacts with the PLO as regards the peace process and the solution of the Palestinian question.

"As for Morocco, the Foreign Minister has recently paid a visit to Egypt and we are in constant contact with that sister country. We have good relations with our Saudi Arabian brothers. As for our relations with others, we leave them to circumstances and do not wish to embarrass anyone.

"We are in contact with Jordan and with King Hussein; this is common knowledge, and not a secret. We are in contact with Jordan within the framework of the Palestinian question, as well as with most Arab countries in this regard, with the exception of Syria."

"Our contacts with Iraq are ongoing. As for Sudan, Somalia and Oman, there is no need to elborate on the subject.

"Official resumption of relations with Arab countries is not a problem. We have contacts with them, and a great number of Egyptians are working in Iraq, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, Bahrain and Kuwait. This flow of Egyptian manpower has never stopped, despite the fact that diplomatic relations were severed, because Egypt is an Arab country and cannot be dissociated from the Arab world whatever happens. Brothers do differ, but always find their way back to the fold."

Interview with the Sudanese newspaper *Al-Sahafa*, November 23, 1982.

"We shall continue to build peace with all the power and will at our command, and we shall continue to widen its scope so that its beneficial impact be felt on all the people of the region, most of all on the brotherly Palestinian people whose right to self-determination and freedom of choice we support and beside whom we stand in their legitimate struggle."

Address to an extraordinary session of the National Democratic Party Congress after his election as Chairman of the Party, January 26, 1982.

On the Palestinian Issue

"We do not speak in the name of the Palestinian people and we do not claim that we will achieve the complete and final solution to the Palestinian problem. It is only the Palestinian people themselves who are entitled to this. However, we shall continue to undertake the role imposed upon us by our historic responsibility — a responsibility which requires us to exert the utmost efforts to create an appropriate atmosphere leading to a transitional period during which the Palestinian people would decide their future."

Speech before the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, October 14, 1981.

FULL HONOURS FOR PRESIDENT MUBARAK AS HE IS WELCOMED TO THE WHITE HOUSE BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

"We must double our efforts in order to fulfil our pledge to establish a just and comprehensive peace. The key to peace and stability in the area is to solve the Palestinian problem. A just solution to this problem must be based on mutual recognition and acceptance."

"The exercise of the right to self-determination cannot be denied the Palestinian people. In fact, it is the best guarantee for Israeli security. This is the lesson of history and the course of the future. To make self-determination a living reality the Palestinians need your help and understanding."

Arrival Ceremony at the White House, February 3, 1982.

The urgency of negotiation

"Owing to the way American Presidential politics work, time is running out on the Reagan peace plan... I am urging King Hussein and Yasser Arafat to come together so that negotiations can start. The problem will never be solved unless they sit at the negotiating table.

"Egypt has done its utmost to help solve the Palestinian problem. We have been involved with the Palestinian people since 1949, and even before. We have lost over one hundred thousand people, injured and killed, in different wars for the Palestinian problem. We lost one hundred billion pounds in the cause of this problem. Still we are doing our best, and we are not going to leave the Palestinian problem until it is completely solved.

"I am not pressing the PLO to begin to talk of recognising Israel; to play their trump card. But if I had only one such card in my hand I would not keep it there until it was of no use. Such a card should be used at the proper time, otherwise it is going to lose its value. It is my view that this may be the proper time."

Interview with the NBC TV network, January 12, 1983.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK MEETS U.S SPECIAL ENVOY PHILIP HABIB IN TALKS AIMED AT RESOLVING THE CRISIS IN LEBANON

PRESIDENT MUBARAK ADDRESSES THE U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

"I wish to inform you that, in recent weeks, I have sent several messages to President Reagan asking him to sponsor the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. This is the only stand consistent with right, justice and legitimacy. This alone is likely to consolidate the peace process to which the United States has greatly contributed in recent years.

"If we do not learn to live together in peace, fraternity and cordiality, we shall all perish in a destructive and merciless war."

"I wish to express best wishes to that great number of Jewish people who have shown sympathy with the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people and have supported their right to self-determination on their own soil. Such a stand, which denotes a sense of responsibility, is likely to contribute greatly to the peace cause."

Address delivered on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Revoution of July 23, 1952.

"The only solution before the PLO is to accept the Reagan initiative and recognise Israel. Recognition of Israel (by the PLO) would not change the nature of the Palestinian cause, but could possibly be of effect in orienting American policy in favour of the Palestinian cause. The PLO could always retract its recognition of Israel if the latter did not recognise it."

Address to the NDP, November 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK RECEIVES BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, FRANCIS PYM...

"We will never drop Camp David. It is the basis of the whole solution, the only commitment made by the Israelis on the Palestinian problem."

Interview with the *Washington Post* November 2, 1981.

"The Palestinian cause was given top priority by the Egyptian people and leadership. Egypt led the national struggle in war and peace to restore the established legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as determined by the U.N. General Assembly resolutions."

"Egypt has borne her responsibilities towards the Palestinian people. She has called on the International Community to support their inalienable rights as a basis for the establishment of peace in the Middle East. And Egypt abided by this basis within the framework of the peace agreements in the region."

"The Egyptian people will abide by their responsibilities. They will seek strength in their faith in God and the justice of the Arab cause. They maintain their determination to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for all the peoples of the region, particularly the Palestinian people. Such peace will ensure their security, stability and progress."

Speech on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, November 29, 1981.

...AND HOLDS TALKS WITH U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, GEORGE SCHULTZ, IN WASHINGTON

"Although we have some observations on, and objections to, this American initiative, this in no way affects the possibility of it generating a new momentum to the peace process and attracting new participants in the negotiations, such as Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian people."

Address delivered at the final session of the General Congress of the NDP, September 22, 1982.

"For thirty years, Egypt has been involved in the Palestinian question. It was Egypt who turned it from a problem of refugees into a cause of a nation and a people. For this cause, Egypt has spent over L.E.100 billion, and lost some 100,000 people — killed, wounded or handicapped. Is that not Egyptian involvement in the issue?

"Had it not been for Egypt, the issue would have never gained so much ground; and become the cause of a nation which holds the interest of the whole world."

Joint press conference with West German Chancellor Kohl, December 24, 1982.

Domestic Policy

When President Mubarak was called upon to assume responsibility for Egypt's future, his objectives were to ensure security, stability, freedom and democracy for all citizens and to develop the country's economy. These objectives remain the keystones of Egypt's domestic policies, as expressed in the following excerpts from the President's public statements which emphasise the importance he attaches to such issues as freedom of expression, social justice, productivity, investments and the economic open-door policy.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT IS SWORN IN BY THE SPEAKER OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

On Democracy and the Rule of Law

"I have been and will remain a staunch supporter of democracy. I believe that democracy is the best guarantee of our future and the best means of striking a balance between the interest of the individual and the rights of society. It also upholds the dignity of the citizen.

"This is why I have opted for dialogue with each and everyone from the premise that we are all equally committed to the public good. I totally oppose a centralisation of power and I have no wish to monopolise decision-making because the country belongs to us all and we all share this responsibility regardless of individual stands. We should therefore co-operate in setting aside partisanship and fanaticism since our objectives have been identified."

Address on the occasion of the total Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, April 26, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK ADDRESSES THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY FOR THE FIRST TIME AS HEAD OF STATE. ON HIS RIGHT IS PRESIDENT NUMEIRY OF SUDAN

"The most effective weapon with which to face the challenges we have resolved to meet is the belief that freedom lies in observing the freedom of others and that democracy is respect for legislation and the law. If freedom were to deviate from this commitment, and democracy from this respect, it would lead to laxity which we have been ordered by the people to resist by decisive measures and strict decisions."

Speech before the People's Assembly, October 14, 1981.

"There will be no place for parties to perform their role in the practice of democracy, which we seek to extend, until popular participation in the management of state affairs is achieved on a bigger scale. I expect the political parties to rise above party differences at this crucial time."

Interview with *Al-Ahram* newspaper, October 23, 1981.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK CONFERS WITH LEADERS OF EGYPT'S MAIN OPPOSITION PARTIES

On the Role of the Opposition

"The certain shield of democracy is the right of every citizen to express his opinion objectively and within the limits of the law. The opposition has a role to play in the national march by offering well considered views and honest criticism, not slander or unfounded accusations. The opposition should join the Government in providing an overall solution to the problems of the masses.

"We should agree that our sublime aim is to serve the national interest. We can differ but without conflict. We should exchange views and not trade accusations."

Address to a joint meeting of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, November 8, 1981.

"Before being opposition leaders, they are Egyptians. I say that national issues should be discussed by all of us; both Government and opposition parties."

Interview with *Al-Akhbar* newspaper, January 24, 1982.

"If some elements tried to exploit the democratic climate, to sabotage our social system, this would not shake our belief that problems of democracy can be solved by greater democracy.

Address to a joint meeting of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, November 1981.

"I shall not ban any newspaper, nor shall I stop subsidising the opposition press. But party and national newspapers must refrain from publishing news items that are detrimental to security and damaging to the family and society."

Address delivered at a meeting with political, executive and popular leaders of the Governorates of Kalioubia and Menoufia, as well as with international pressmen, November 2, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK IS FLANKED ON HIS RIGHT BY DR. SUFI ABU TALEB, SPEAKER OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY, AND ON HIS LEFT BY DR. SOBHI ABDEL HAKIM, SPEAKER OF THE SHURA COUNCIL

On the Economy

The open-door economic policy, coupled with the prospect of long-standing peace and stability, a key location, a rapidly growing domestic market and the availability of skilled manpower offer opportunities for fruitful investments in many areas. The following excerpts from President Mubarak's statements express the relevant aspects of the economic policy to which he attaches the utmost importance.

The open-door policy

"I want to declare before the masses that the economic open-door policy will be maintained. I shall continue to consolidate and boost it. Doing so will result in the open-door policy bringing more benefits for the people, either by making more goods available for consumption and improving their quality, or by creating more opportunities for employment. Boosting the open-door policy will also lead to an enhancement of our ability to assimilate the most modern technological and scientific techniques. All this necessitates, in the first place, paving the way for attracting more Arab and foreign capital to participate in our efforts of overall development, according to the priorities of the Egyptian plan. Our most important goal is the achievement of prosperity and security for the great Egyptian people."

Speech before the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, October 14, 1981.

"We shall consolidate the open-door policy in all productive fields and we intend to give a greater impetus to our agriculture and to our industry."

Message conveyed by satellite to American businessmen attending a synopsium on investment, April 15, 1982.

"We are striving to the best of our abilities to achieve a rational open-door policy which will enable nations and peoples to co-operate, and bring about an interaction of civilisations, thoughts and values."

Address delivered during a visit to Yugoslavia, September 6, 1982.

"Egypt abounds with opportunities that only need to be thoroughly exploited and followed up. This is what I try to do in my field visits."

Inverview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyassa*, November 21, 1982.

INSPECTING SOME OF THE END PRODUCTS OF EGYPT'S CONSUMER INDUSTRY: CARPETS, ABOVE, AND TABLEWARE, BELOW

Egypt's Resources

"Egypt is rich in her talented people... it is the centre of gravity in the Arab world and the leading state in the area.

"We are a rich people in our potential, experts... This wealth is the source of Egypt's prosperity and progress and a principal reservoir from which the Arab States draw in all fields of science and expertise."

Speech to leaders of the Farmers, January 1983.

"I believe we have found the right formula for a radical solution to the economic question; but economic crises are not solved overnight. We are striving to increase production within the framework of a five-year plan which does not allow for unstudied projects."

Interview with the Sudanese newspaper *Al-Sahafa*, November 23, 1982.

"My aim is to change the Egyptian economy from a consumer economy to a productive one. We are putting Egypt's economic potentials face-to-face with world economic activities. I have stressed the role of the open-door policy and I re-stress it now. We shall endorse individual efforts and will build up a productive economy. I feel confident because international economic activities have confidence in the returns realisable from a productive Egyptian economy. I have given instructions to the relevant people in the Government to facilitate the open-door process. We have no objection to developing the laws governing foreign investments in Egypt."

Interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyassa*, November 6, 1981.

"The economic problem is not Egypt's problem alone... there are economic problems in the United States, Britain, France, Italy and even the Socialist countries. What is important is to adopt serious steps to solve these problems — bearing in mind that economic problems need a long time to be solved."

Interview with the Sudanese newspaper *Al-Sahafa*.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK ADDRESSES THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE SPECIALLY CONVENED IN FEBRUARY 1982 TO DISCUSS THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

"Development trends in the new five-year plan concentrate on several basic indicators, including the necessity of effecting optimal utilisation of all available expertise as well as all the technical and scientific accomplishments at local and international levels. Such expertise and technological achievements must be fully exploited to pool and organise local resources and rationalise their exploitation."

Address to the Fifth Conference of Egypt in the Year 2000, December 1982.

Investment

"We welcome Arab and foreign capital and are keen to provide a propitious climate likely to contribute to an increase in production while doing away with exploitationist methods."

Address on Labour Day, May 1, 1982.

PRESIDENT MUBARAK VOICES EGYPT'S MISGIVINGS ABOUT WORLDWIDE ARMS EXPENDITURE AT THE U.N. CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, HELD IN ROME

"We intend to direct Egyptian, Arab and foreign capital toward industrial and agricultural activities and to this end the Government shall provide assistance and guarantees. Egypt does not intend to change this line of action, restrict it or go back on it.

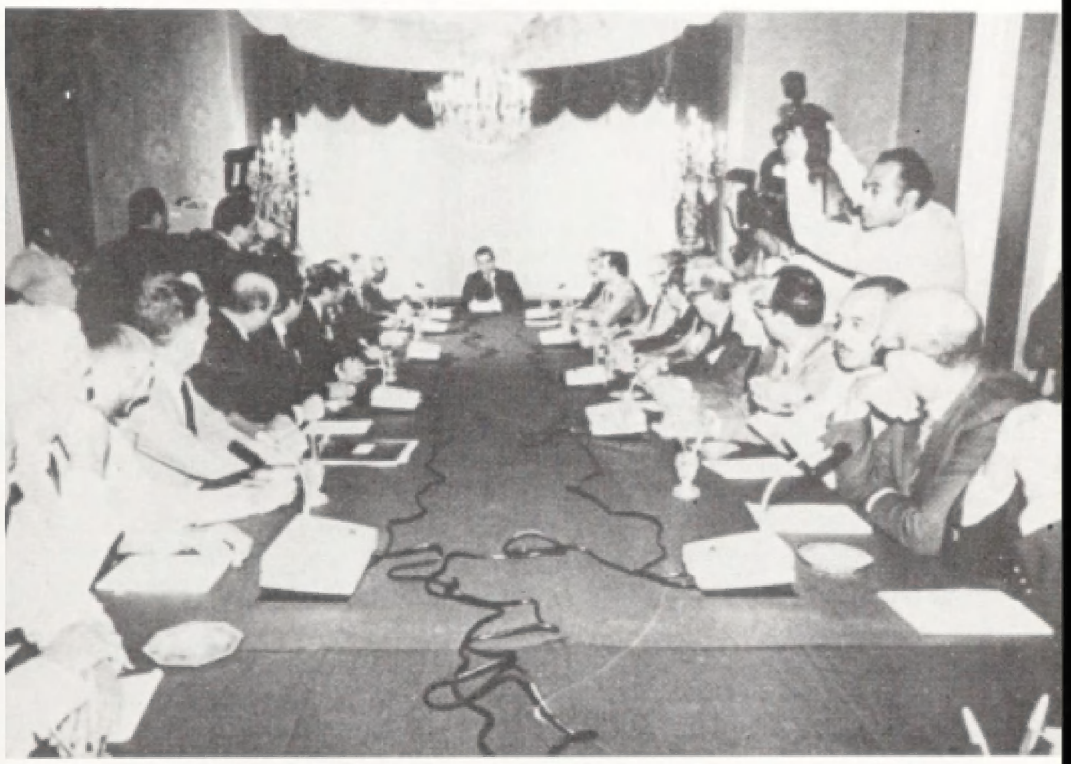
"The Government wishes to secure the development of national industries. This can only be achieved through effective co-operation between state and people, as well as between the public and private sectors. Relations between them must be based on solidarity and an identity of objectives and must not be governed by contradicting aims or conflict of interest. We all seek to capitalise on our enormous potentials, so as to secure our well-being now and in the future."

Address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Industry, April 11, 1982.

"I wish to reiterate that the Government is committed to the encouragement of the private sector. We shall not revert to an isolation policy that was applied at a certain stage for given reasons.

"We have managed, to a great extent, to consolidate the public sector, and laid down the foundations whereby to raise its efficiency."

Speech delivered on the 30th Anniversary of the July 1952 Revolution, July 26, 1982.



PRESIDENT MUBARAK TALKING WITH A VISITING DELEGATION OF AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN TO WHOM HE DESCRIBED RECENT MEASURES TAKEN TO ENCOURAGE FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN EGYPT

"Egypt offers tremendous potential for foreign investment. We are not asking you (foreign investors) to take any risks or base your decision to invest in Egypt on non-economic factors. We know the rules of the game and offer you a mutually beneficial relationship. We need your capital and technology. We offer in return an atmosphere of stability and confidence. Adequate measures have been legislated regarding investments and we have taken many steps towards the elimination of red-tape and administrative bottlenecks. Our economy has been witnessing a steady rate of real growth of 8.5 per cent annually over the last seven years and we have just completed a five-year plan for economic development which makes it easy for foreign investors to select the projects which can be undertaken in conformity with our national priorities."

Addressing the Conference of West German Industries, Bonn, December 14, 1982.

The relevance of the foregoing excerpts, briefly illustrating the main guidelines of Egypt's foreign and domestic policies, arises largely from the realities which bestow on the country a leading role in the Middle East by virtue of her geographical position, her cultural heritage, her human resources and, above all, her unrivalled experience of government.

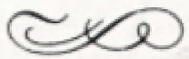
At the crossroads of three continents, Egypt is the homeland of by far the most populous nation in the Middle East and the Arab world. Her constantly replenished reservoir of skilled manpower and technical expertise provides the region with some of the human resources needed to enhance the value of its many other assets.

Above all, perhaps, it is Egypt's unique experience of government and of political realities — an experience going back to the days when the early pharaohs set up the world's first civilised polity over 50 centuries ago — which destines her for a leading role in the Middle East; a role which she has never set out to obtain but which she cannot decline to play. Nor, as repeatedly stressed by President Mubarak, would Egypt ever contemplate relinquishing her responsibilities in the area, in Africa or in the world; especially her responsibility for a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

However, as a mature nation, heir to one of the world's oldest civilisations, Egypt must rely on her own experience and on the judgement of her own leaders if she is to fulfil her moral and political obligations in their entirety and in a manner which will do full justice to the vital issues at stake.

As regards domestic and economic policies, the message conveyed by the excerpts from President Mubarak's statements is that, having ensured stability, order and continuity of government through reconciliation and democracy — the prerequisites for steady development — Egypt is now ready to take fuller advantage of her inherent assets, including her human resources, her growing domestic market, her geographical position and her standing in the world, to proceed with an accelerated rate of growth and fruitful investment.

This is the essence of Egypt's foreign and domestic policies which no one is better qualified to express than the man who formulated them and on whom it devolves to ensure their implementation — Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt.



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